1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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593 repented, though neither speak to each other a single
578 word on the subject of what has passed. And as his children, if he has any, will on his return hang about him and soothe him with their caresses, he is, on their account, ready to forgive, or at least to say nothing unpleasant to their mother. She has, however, received by this a solemn warning, and must take care how she behaves in future, lest the next time her husband should stay away altogether and take another wife. It is very probable, that if at this time they had had no children, he would have left her, but then he would have taken his property with him at the same time.

593 On the return of an Indian from a journey, or long ab-
576 sence, he will on entering the house, say, "I am return-
484 ed!" to which his wife will reply, "I rejoice!" and having cast his eyes around, he will enquire, whether all the children are well, when being answered in the affirmative, he replies, "I am glad!" which for the present is all the conversation that passes between them; nor does he relate any thing at this present time that occurred on his journey, but holds himself in readiness to partake of the nourishment which his wife is preparing for him. After a while, when the men of the village have assembled at his house, his wife, with the rest, hears his story at full length.

584 *Marriages* are proposed and concluded in different ways. The parents on both sides, having observed an attachment between two young persons, negotiate for them. This generally commences from the house where the bridegroom lives, whose mother is the negotiatrix for him, and begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat, or something else of the same kind, to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it: in return for this the mother of the bride, if she otherwise approves of the match, which she well understands by the presents to be intended, will prepare a good dish of victuals, the pro-

9 [Lecaudan. See cat. 116, p. 348. —Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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duce of the labour of *woman*, such as beans, Indian corn, or the like, and then taking it to the house where the bridegroom lives, will say, "This is the produce of my daughter's field;" and she also prepared it. If afterwards the mothers of the parties are enabled to tell the good news to each other, that the young people have pronounced that which was sent them *very good*, the bargain is struck. It is as much as if the young man had said to the girl, "I am able to provide you at all times with meat "to eat!" and she had replied, "and such good victuals "from the field, you shall have from me!" From this time not only presents of this kind are continued on both sides, but articles of clothing are presented to the parents by each party, by way of return for what they have received, of which the young people always have a share. The friendship between the two families daily increasing, they do their domestic and field work jointly, and when the young people have agreed to live together, the parents supply them with necessaries, such as a kettle, dishes or bowls, and also what is required for the kitchen, and with axes, hoes, &c. to work in the field.

The men who have no parents to negotiate for them, or otherwise choose to manage the matter for themselves, have two simple ways of attaining their object. The first is: by stepping up to the woman whom they wish to marry, saying: "If you are willing I will take you as "wife!" when if she answer in the affirmative, she either goes with him immediately, or meets him at an appointed time and place.

The other mode of celebrating marriage will appear from the following anecdote.

An aged Indian, who for many years had spent much of his time among the white people both in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, one day about the year 1770 observed, that the Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a *good* one; "For," (said he in his bro-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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584 586 ken English,) "White man court,—court,—may be one "whole year!—may be two year before he marry!—well! "—may be then got very good wife—but may be *not!*— "may be *very* cross!—Well now, suppose cross! scold "so soon as get awake in the morning! scold all day! "scold until sleep!—all one; he must keep *him!** White "people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be "*he* ever so cross! must keep *him* always! Well! "how does Indian do?—Indian when he see industrious "Squaw, which he like, he go to *him*, place his two fore- "fingers close aside each other, make two look like one "—look Squaw in the face—see *him* smile—which is all "one *he* say, *Yes!* so he take *him* home—no danger *he* "be cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian "do if *he* cross!—throw *him* away and take another! "Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw "do every thing to please husband! he do the same to "please Squaw! live happy!"

CHAPTER XVII.

RESPECT FOR THE AGED.

889 THERE is no nation in the world who pay greater respect to old age than the American Indians. From their infancy they are taught to be kind and attentive to aged persons, and never to let them suffer for want of necessaries or comforts. The parents spare no pains to impress upon the minds of their children the conviction

* The pronouns in the Indian language have no feminine gender.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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881 and guards her so that none may see her . . . she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. . . .[45]

De Vries also noted that these girls hid behind a garment "which they throw over their body drawing it over the head so that one can barely [783] see their eyes."[47] The emphasis during menstruation was on uncleanliness and the necessity of isolation from society.[48] A girl could not touch her hair during her first isolation, food was eaten with a stick, and no meat was eaten.[49] In the last century, and perhaps earlier, a girl could not look in a mirror or talk to people (N.D.). At the end of the seclusion the girl's mother washed her hair, bathed her, and gave her new clothes. The idea was impressed upon the girl that she was now a woman and was henceforth to give up the toys and activities of childhood.[50] The same general restrictions applied to menstruating women.[51]

836 Little is known about premarital chastity in early historic times.
548 Denton said, however: "Any maid before she is married doth lie with whom she please for money without any scandal, or the least aspersion to be cast upon her it being so customary, & their laws tolerating it."[52]

Marriage

582 After the boys had proved themselves to be adequate hunters and the girls had passed through their first seclusion, they were considered
884 ready for marriage. This took place at about the age of seventeen or eighteen for boys and thirteen or fourteen for girls.[53] A girl showed her marriageability by wearing some sort of headpiece and by modestly covering the face with a portion of clothing when in public.[54] De Vries [301] said further that girls "deck themselves with a quantity of zeewan [wampum] upon the body, head and neck; they then go and sit in some place, in company with some squaws, showing that they are up for a bargain."[55]

● 584 Several different ways of arranging marriages and several types of marriage ceremony have been recorded for the Delawares. Some of this variety was probably due to diffusion from other Indian cultures or from Euro-American civilization, but it was also possible that there were variations among the diverse Delawaran peoples. Four seventeenth-century sources stated that girls were courted with wampum.[56] In later times, at least, relatives or go-betweens arranged the marriage. According to Heckewelder the prospective bridegroom's mother usually initiated the negotiations; according to Trowbridge the father of the

[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[47] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; also Loskiel, 1794, p. 56.
[48] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; N.D., O.A.
[49] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[50] N.D. See section on Mythology in Chap. IV for an account of a girl who refused to part with her dolls.
[51] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[52] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[53] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Holm, 1834, pp. 127-28; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 75; Loskiel, 1794, p. 63.
[54] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Penn, 1912, p. 231.
[55] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.
[56] *Ibid.*; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Denton, 1845, p. 9; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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bridegroom carried out negotiations with the father of the bride.[57] My informants said that either parent of the prospective bridegroom could make wedding arrangements (N.D., O.A., M.B.). The prospective bridegroom, or the go-between seems to have taken some produce of the hunt, usually a choice cut of deer or bear, to the dwelling of the prospective bride and presented it to the girl's mother. If the match was favored, the girl's mother reciprocated with a gift of beans or corn. Both go-betweens, whether relatives or friends, emphasized in their negotiations that their respective children, or clients, had themselves procured the gifts. If, after this exchange, the couple signified that the gifts were acceptable, the bargain was considered concluded, although subsequent exchanges of food and clothing were made. The period of time between the betrothal and the marriage was fairly lengthy in the seventeenth century: "If she be a young virgin, he must wait six weeks more before he can sleep with her...all this time she sits with a blanket over her head, without wishing to look at any one, or any one being permitted to look at her...."[58] Heckewelder added:

> The friendship between the two families daily increasing, they do their domestic and field work jointly, and when the young people have agreed to live together, the parents supply them with necessaries, such as a kettle, dishes or bowls, and also what is required for the kitchen, and with axes, hoes, etc. to work in the field.[59]

De Rasieres rather cryptically said that in the marriage ceremony they "...eat together with friends, and sing and dance together...."[60] An even more informal ceremony was mentioned in this and subsequent centuries, in which a man simply asked a woman if she wanted to live with him. If she assented, they lived together and were considered to be married.[61] Trowbridge described the marriage ceremony of the nineteenth century by saying:

> The female was conducted by her relatives to the lodge of her intended husband and there delivered to him. The day succeeding was taken up by the relatives of the bride in carrying to those of the groom large presents of corn, squashes, etc., together with pouches and other ornaments, the products of female labor, and they also gave her a kettle for cooking. This was the conclusion of the ceremony.[62]

Other data from this century add that the couple, dressed in their finest and most elaborate clothing, appeared before a shaman, who made an offering of tobacco to the supernatural powers and sacrificed a beaver skin. He then addressed the bridal couple telling them to be good and not to mistreat each other. This was followed by a feast and dance sponsored by the friends and relatives of the bridal pair.[63] He might

[57] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 161-62; De Smet, 1859, p. 238; Trowbridge MS.
[58] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.
[59] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.
[60] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.
[61] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; J.T., O.A.
[62] Trowbridge MS.
[63] De Smet, 1859, p. 239; Adams, 1905, pp. 17-19; M.B.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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D 841 poorly built, and remains there two or three days, food being taken to her. When the time is over they bathe and wash their clothes and are allowed to return to their husbands. During the D 784 menstrual period, they are not permitted to do any cooking or 262 domestic work. None will eat what a woman in this condition 841 prepares, for food prepared under such circumstances is said to be unwholesome and to cause pain in the abdomen. The women do not go into company, but keep to their huts until their time is over. Hence, it occasionally happens that a woman engaged in baking will leave everything and go to her hut. This custom I [841] does not obtain among the Mingoes; their women continue their usual work and remain in the house.

In the wooing of a bride, custom demands that if an Indian would proceed honorably and at the same time have assurance D ●584 that his wife when married will remain with him, he first sends a present of blankets, strouds, linen and whatever else the Indians commonly use for clothing and perhaps a few belts or fathoms of wampum. If he has no cloth, wampum alone will do. These things he gives to an Indian to whom he has declared his purpose and who hands them to a friend of the person fixed upon, speaks for him and presses his suit. Thereupon, the friends assemble, examine the present, propose the matter to the girl, who generally decides agreeably to the wish of her parents and relations. The suitor is then informed that his proposal has been accepted. If it is decided to decline the proposal, the present is simply returned and understood to be a friendly negative. In case the match is agreeable, the girl is led to the dwelling of the groom, without further ceremony. After the bride has joined her husband, the things constituting the present are divided among the friends and the belts of wampum cut and a piece given to each. The friends return the civility by a present of Indian corn, beans, kettles, dishes, spoons, sieves, baskets, hatchets, brought in solemn procession into the hut of the newly D married couple. Commonly, the latter lodge in a friend's house [591] until they can erect a dwelling of their own.

This custom still obtains among the Indians. Within the last years, however, disorderly living and evil have become so common that faith is not kept and many of the usages, that were

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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D 584

good and preserved a certain decency, have fallen into disuse. At the present time, even if the Indian would take a wife in honorable fashion and proceed in accordance with the above described custom, the parties concerned will not deny his suit in view of the presents, even though the friends and the girl are not willing to accept him. The friends will urge the girl to live with the man a short time, and tell her that if she is not pleased, to leave him again. Thus it happens that women will go from one to another for the sake of the gifts. Yet there are many cases where husband and wife are faithful to one another throughout life.

Occasionally, parents who have a son will agree with parents who have a daughter that in due time their children shall marry. As, however, they can neither persuade nor compel their children against their wishes, it in the end depends upon the children whether the match shall be consummated.[251]

I 584

Among the Mingoes it is not unusual to fix upon children of four or five years of age, with a view to future marriage. In this case the mother of the girl is obliged to bring a basket of bread every week into the house of the boy and to furnish him with firewood. The parents of the boy must supply the girl with meat and clothes, till they are both of a proper age. Their marriage, however, solely depends upon their own free will, for there is never any compulsion. If either man or woman is unwilling to follow up the engagement entered into by parents, no marriage results.

D 586 837

Although there are many Indians who live peaceably with their wives, especially if they have children for whom they care (for if a man has several children he will try to get along with his wife) the younger Indians at the present time generally live together only a very short time after a marriage. Hence, fornication is very common among them, Satan's influence in this respect being very strong.

D 177

If it is asked why the Indians at the present time are more given to vice and disorderly living than formerly, when they were as ignorant heathen as they are now, two reasons may be given. First, much evil unquestionably has been taught them by white people, especially the traders, who were content to live

Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

The following games were probably played in this early period: footraces (lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnson	Pipe	Chippe	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Birth and its incidents—Continued												
113. Parents exercise any control over mature children						+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+
114. Age children are expected to maintain themselves					20+	15-25		20	21	25	16-17+	20-22
115. Child given daily bath †		+				+	·	+	+	+	+	*+
116. Cradle used	+	(−)	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	+
117. Consists of board	+		+	+		+	+	+		·	·	+
118. with cushion			+			+	+	+		·	·	+
119. with hoop over head			+			+	+	+		·	·	+
120. hoop decorated						+	+	+		·	·	+
121. Cradle put in hammock						·	·	·		·	+	+
122. Boys and girls treated with equal care and affection						+	+	+	+	+	s	+
123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate	(−)	−				−	−	−	·	*−	−	−
124. Mother takes care of illegitimate	+	+				+	+	+	+	·	+	+
125. Father not compelled to contribute but may do so						+	+	·	+	+	−	+
126. Birth of twins frequent	+			−		−	+	−	+	+	o	+
127. Number of instances of triplets						o	+	+	o	+	+	+
128. Are parental feelings strong	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
129. Are filial feelings strong	−			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Do they (128 and 129) continue through life				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Marriage and its incidents												
131. Courtship				−	−	−	−	*(+)	−	−	*−	−
132. Marriage arranged by parents	(+)	+	−	s	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
133. Consent of either party asked	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
134. Any ceremony of marriage †		+	+	−	−	+	+	·	+	−	+	+
135. Presents for bride	(+)	+		+		+	+	·	+	−	+	+
136. Presents for family of bride	(+)			+	+	·	+	·	·	−	+	+
137. Presents exchanged				+		·	+	·	·	−	−	−
138. Time served by boy						−	−	−	·	−	−	−
139. Polygamy common †	−	−		−		−	−	+			+	+
140. Only rich or chiefs have more than one		+		+*		+	+					

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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(116). While three of them had heard of the former use of cradleboards, one, J. W., denied ever hearing of them among the Delaware, although he was familiar with their use by other tribes.

Marriage and Its Incidents

From the majority of the accounts denying courtship between the principals of a marriage it appears that Chipps's description of a brief courtship which was also a marriage ceremony was not typical of the Delaware (131).[4] Lindeström's record of fantastic promiscuity of all the people except the chiefs need not be considered one way or the other. Such a condition would not be reasonable for any people and certainly could not have existed among the Delaware in 1654 without many more than Lindeström having been aware of it. Chipps and Lindeström are also the only dissenters to the statement that marriages were arranged by the parents (132). As already mentioned, Lindeström's statements are not trustworthy on the subject of marriage and Chipps was reporting a Canadian Munsee group that differed in many respects from the Delaware group in this country. His remarks on marriage are applicable to the Chippewa with whom the Canadian Munsee were in contact and with whom they intermarried. In the light of Pipe's remark about the ignoring of formality,[5] it is probable that Chipps's statements reflect a condition in the third period not wholly attributable to the Chippewa or confined to the Canadian Delaware.

According to the tabulation of remarks on the asking of the consent of either party, parents in the first two periods were much more considerate of the wishes of their children than parents in the last two periods (133). The explanation probably lies in the statements of Zeisberger and Pipe that refusals to comply with the wishes of parents were rare. The story told by F. R. is an example of the means used by parents and other elders to keep the young folks in line.[6]

[4] See *post*, p. 107.
[5] See *post*, p. 109.
[6] See *post*, pp. 107-8.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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121. Cradle put in hammock 854

W. L. said that a cradleboard was formerly used but that 352
his children were all raised in a cradle hammock, consisting of a cloth or piece of blanket, two ropes and two sticks. The ropes were suspended parallel, the edges of the blanket fastened to or around the ropes, and the sticks placed at the ends of the blanket to keep the ropes apart.

123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate children 848 [836]

W. T.—No difference because Delaware never had latter. Young folks did not play around—old folks watched them too close.

Marriage and Its Incidents

131. Courtship

Captain Chipps—Courtships are brief. If a man sees a 584 ●
woman whom he likes, he gives her presents, and persuades her [936]
to sleep with him. Should they be mutually pleased, they afterwards live together as man and wife. The consent of parents on the subject is seldom asked—although it is considered proper [585]
to consult parents on the subject. If a marriage is consummated as above, and the parents are displeased, they use their exertions to separate the young couple—they fail, however, for the newmarried couple elope, when the alarm is sounded. There is no ceremony of marriage but the above.

E. R.—Both girls and boys were told to accept the first pro- 584
posal they received. The old people kept telling them this and 577
to show what might happen to them if they did not do this they 539
told the following story. Once there was a girl who was very pretty, one boy after another wanted to marry her but she did not care much for any of them and would not listen to her old folks. Then one day when she was out in the woods she met a very handsome young stranger. She fell for him, and when he said he wanted to take her home with him, she agreed. He took her into a nearby hollow where he had a very nice home. He told his mother he had brought home a wife and she was very

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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584 glad. They settled down there and the girl was very contented.
577 She had a nice home, a handsome husband who was an excellent
539 hunter, bringing in lots of game every day. Things went along like that for about a year. Then one morning when she woke up her husband was not there. She went outside and asked the old lady, who was cleaning up around the fire, sweeping the yard and so forth, if she knew where her son was. The old lady thought he was home and the girl went back in the house to look again. In the middle of the bed a great big bull snake was curled up. She screamed and ran outside and told the old lady. The old lady was mad and said, "So he is playing tricks again," and grabbing a stick of firewood, went inside and began to beat the snake saying "get up you lazy fellow." Her son came out of the house laughing and began to tease his wife, asking her if she was scared. She was so scared she could hardly talk to him. After breakfast during which he continued to tease her, he went off. The old lady then talked to the girl and told her that while she had been there a year, she would not be happy there any longer and that it would be better if she went home to her own people. She went back home after being away almost a year. Her folks were glad to see her. She was pregnant and after a while got sick. She went off in the wood by herself and was very sick. Two little boys were playing in the woods and saw her lie down by a big log. They watched her die and going near her saw little snakes crawling out of her mouth, nose, eyes and ears. When the boys told the old folks what they had seen, they went out and looked at the body. They did not know what to make of it all but thought that that was what came from rejecting the first proposal the girl received.

[754] His old folks told E. R. that they did not know just how it all happened but thought that one of the fellows the girl had turned down had used power to get the snake to marry the girl and also used power to deceive the girl's eyes into thinking she was seeing a man. E. R. says the old folks were glad the old days were gone and that there were no longer people who could do things like that. Also they were glad that the days were gone when a person had to do things according to rules whether they were right or wrong.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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134. Any ceremony of marriage 585

LINDESTRÖM says that only chiefs had anything considered a marriage or any ceremony of marriage, the common people mating promiscuously.

JOHN JOHNSTON—The young couple have nothing to say to each other till the bargain is made by the parents then the young man gives a present of goods to the parents of the young woman and they are considered married. [584]

CAPTAIN PIPE—There is no ceremony of courtship and marriage in these degenerate days. Anciently, when the father ascertained that his son desired to marry, if he was of proper age, he sought for him a suitable partner in the person of some female of his acquaintance, and carried to her father a bundle of presents, making known to him at the same time the object of his visit. If the father of the female accepted the present, it was a signal of his consent to the union and the visitor returned to declare the result of his visit to his son. On the following night the female was conducted by her relatives to the lodge of her intended husband and there delivered to him. The day succeeding was taken up by the relatives of the bride in carrying to those of the groom large presents of corn, squashes, etc., together with pouches and other ornaments, the produce of female labour, and they also gave her a kettle for cooking. This was the conclusion of the ceremony, and the new married couple then set themselves at work to provide for their future subsistence. Instances of refusal to comply with the wishes of the parents have seldom been known. 584 585

J. W.—(See last paragraph of his autobiography under discussion of element 103, *ante*, p. 104.)

139-144. Polygamy

JOHN JOHNSTON—They generally have but one [wife] for they consider it wrong yet they some times have more. The one that can exercise the most bodily strength is considered superior. They (form one family) when the women can agree but if they cannot agree they live separate. 592 595

CAPTAIN PIPE—Formerly each man had but one wife, but now they are permitted to marry as many as they can maintain,

[P.34, B]

581 Divorce and family instability were
586 common; many children were raised by mother surrogates. "Owing to instability of the family relationship, children are
581 often neglected."[9] The father was absent, hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or
855 attending treaties during most of the year; what discipline there was fell to the hand of the mother, who was considered to
796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the
861 annual calendar of ceremonies, young children were chased by a man dressed in a bear-skin, who threatened to punish them for misdeeds (of which the parents kept him informed from year to year) by carrying them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be the "Guardian of the Game" and also promoted the fertility of the corn; in other
855 words, was the symbol of the food provider.[12] The boys were able to escape from the mother's supervision as soon as they were able to get about to play at hunting and fighting, but the girls were kept around
754 the house to help the mother at work.[13] When a child died, an old woman was often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights which could not be secured on demand, a symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld benefits and hidden hostility, to the Delaware, and the source of his generalized, if inhibited, aggressiveness; and that the father-figure stood on the horizon, so to speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but one too remote and too aloof to be depended upon.

EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENTS IN MATURITY

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young man to fall in love with a girl. His family would present his suit; she would accept
[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and come to live with him; and they would live happily and faithfully ever after. The

9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. Ibid.; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 128.

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584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
[762] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automatically suspect as a lie any tale which they
[593] heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
888 women were accused by the men of being
439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption
571 on the part of all Delawares—men and women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.
17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.